

UNITED STATES NAVAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS  
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When President Jimmy Carter quietly, but officially, opened the closet door on one of the nation's most coveted intelligence collection systems in a Cape Canaveral speech on 1 October 1978, he publicly marked the beginning of the end of an era. His announcement was part of the preparation for the expected battle with the Senate over approval of the SALT II agreement. It was anticipated that the battle might eventually include the release of photographic satellite reconnaissance materials to establish both the verifiability of the provisions of the SALT II treaty and the reasonableness of some of the treaty's provisions. If this had occurred, the president may have had in mind a restricted use of these materials by the U. S. Senate. However, the House of Representatives probably would have insisted upon equal treatment, and once the process was started, the president may have been forced to go (or would have seen considerable advantage in going) to the general public with his supportive evidence.

The Iranian crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan froze the SALT approval process in the United States. The currently negotiated SALT II treaty is now more than likely a dead document. Whatever the timetable and in whatever manifestation arms control negotiations might resume, any administration of the future should anticipate a most difficult problem in gaining congressional approval of a SALT-type treaty. The pendulum swing away from accommodation toward confrontation strongly suggests that this will be the case. Another possibility is that any SALT approach is dead for many years to come, so that no administration will find it prudent to pursue this path. Instead, increasing tension and serious preparations for the use of force may cause the current or next administration to present, to the American public and the world, hard intelligence evidence that justifies the action being taken.

Whatever the basis, attempted accommodation or anticipated confrontation, if it happens, the taxpayer will have the opportunity to see examples of what has been one of the most valuable sources of strategic,

scientific, and technical intelligence for 19 years: U. S. satellite intelligence collection systems. The degree of success in controlling specific knowledge about these systems has been high. The conviction of a former CIA employee, William P. Kampiles, of espionage in November 1978, when the court found him guilty of selling a top secret manual of one of the country's operational photo satellite systems, represents an important exception to this success. According to news accounts which cited unnamed "U. S. officials," the Soviets first learned that the KH-11 spy satellite was photographing their territory

when they purchased a stolen copy of the satellite's manual. On 23 November 1978, *The Washington Post* reported, "The KH11 'was misclassified' by the Soviets as a nonphotographic satellite, . . . so they did not bother to try to hide sensitive weapons or operations from it when it passed overhead." News reports about the spy trial and the KH-11 revealed that KH was an abbreviation of the CIA code name. If correct, the selection of "Keyhole" to name a system that secretly and silently peeked down from space is apt. The code word was probably too suggestive to be openly used, so it was abbreviated. There is no way for anyone outside of the U. S. and Soviet intelligence communities to judge the claim that the Soviets did not recognize the KH-11 for what it actually was. The Soviets, however, with their large land-based optical and electronic systems, will probably be able to determine whether the manual they purchased for \$3,000 is authentic or a U. S. plant in an attempt at misinformation.

A more important point is that the court effectively ruled to keep the American public from knowing what the Soviets know. Reporters covering the trial petitioned U. S. District Court Judge Phil M. McNaghy to release all evidence submitted to the jury. A copy of the manual with certain parts censored was admitted into evidence, but Judge McNaghy refused to release it to the media. Apparently the United States may have decided that it is unavoidable or even worthwhile for the Soviets to know